

REPURPOSING CORRECTIONAL FACILITIES TO STRENGTHEN COMMUNITIES



**THE
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RESEARCH AND ADVOCACY FOR REFORM



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The Sentencing Project promotes effective and humane responses to crime that minimize imprisonment and criminalization of youth and adults by promoting racial, ethnic, economic, and gender justice.

Workhouse Arts Center cover photo courtesy of Visit Fairfax.

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■ TABLE OF CONTENTS

2	Executive Summary
4	Introduction
5	Decarceration in the United States, 2008-Present
5	Addressing Political Pressure Against Prison Closure
6	Considerations in Prison Reuse
7	Prison Reuse Projects
12	Lessons in Decommissioning Public Facilities
13	Prison Downsizing as an Opportunity to Phase Out Private Prisons
13	Prison Reuse for Other Correctional Purposes
14	New Prisons in the Mass Incarceration Era
14	Community Reinvestment
15	Recommendations: Prison Closure and Reuse Reform Efforts
16	Conclusion
17	Sources and Terminology
18	Appendix: Listing of closed prisons by state, that includes occupational capacity

REPURPOSING CORRECTIONAL FACILITIES TO STRENGTHEN COMMUNITIES



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Between 2000 and 2022, 21 states partially closed or fully closed at least one correctional facility and reduced correctional capacity in the United States by 81,444 prison beds, according to The Sentencing Project's analysis of state records. This reduction in capacity reflects decades of work to reduce imprisonment rates in this country and growing public recognition that mass incarceration has not been a successful public safety strategy. Indeed, there is no evidence that closing prisons has any impact on public safety. But in a time of rising rates of serious crime, public officials face a question as to whether to continue the decarceration policies that led to both the capacity reduction and the reprioritization of resources to fund services and social supports that prevent criminal legal system contact.

Key to successful prison closure efforts has been the reuse of former correctional facilities for purposes beneficial to communities. A community reinvestment approach redirects funds states spend on prisons to rebuild the social capital and local infrastructure – quality schools, community centers, and healthcare facilities – in high-incarceration neighborhoods. Such an approach acknowledges the collateral impacts of mass incarceration on many overly policed neighborhoods where persons lived prior to their sentencing.

Repurposing closed prison facilities helps address how out of step the United States' scale of incarceration is with the rest of the world and the unacceptable racial bias that dominates criminal legal practices. Below are examples of a few such projects:

- **Michigan:** The minimum-security Ojibway Correctional Facility planned reuse for business redevelopment.
- **New York:** Arthur Kill Correctional Facility, a closed medium-security prison, has been repurposed as a movie and television studio while the minimum-security Mid-Orange Correctional Facility is being reused as a business park.
- **Tennessee:** Brushy Mountain State Penitentiary, a former maximum-security prison, has been repurposed as a whisky distillery and campgrounds.
- **Texas:** The minimum-security Dawson State Jail planned reuse as a nonprofit office and community space.
- **Virginia:** The maximum-security Lorton Reformatory has been repurposed to a mixed-use development of housing and retail space.

Unfortunately, such projects are more of an exception than the norm. Lack of planning for the reuse of decommissioned prisons can lead to their continued use for incarceration purposes. Closed youth prisons have been transferred to adult prison systems while the end of county immigration detention contracts has led jail officials to contract with state prison agencies. At the time of this writing, a recent uptick

in serious and violent crime could lead many public officials to return to the overly punitive practices that led to the construction of so many prisons and jails. This would be a grave mistake and sacrifice a valuable opportunity to put land and facilities to better use for the public good.

Indeed, this is the same mistake American leaders and the public made 50 years ago at the onset of the “mass incarceration” era. During the 1970s, U.S. lawmakers reacted to rising crime by ratcheting up punishment resulting in mass incarceration and building new correctional facilities to accommodate substantial growth in the nation’s prison population. Other Western democracies also experienced rises in crime during this period, yet they reduced imprisonment or sustained current incarceration levels. Their social and political culture did not result in punitive responses to crime rooted in harsh sentencing policies, rather they implemented preventive social policies to address the root causes of crime. American officials must consider the current scale of incarceration as they explore public safety solutions to address crime. Rather than relying on the failed policies of the mass incarceration era, US policymakers must fully fund crime prevention efforts led by community stakeholders through substantial investments at the local and state level. This report illustrates both the positive outcomes and challenges faced in accomplishing these goals through the closure and repurposing of correctional facilities.

KEY FINDINGS

- Twenty-one states fully or partially closed prison facilities between 2000 and 2022. Prison capacity nationwide has been reduced by 81,444 beds.
- Prison reuse planning is an emerging practice, including the establishment of New York’s Prison Reuse Commission, and the budgeting of public funding towards prison repurposing projects and related economic development.

- Non-carceral prison reuse projects include community meeting space, mixed use real estate development, business parks, a whisky distillery and private event venue, and a movie studio.

RECOMMENDATIONS

• CHALLENGE MASS INCARCERATION

The circumstances surrounding prison closures vary from state to state and create challenges and opportunities. The rate of decarceration has been very modest in most states, and it remains vital to recalibrate sentencing policies to meaningfully address the nation’s scale of imprisonment.

• PRISON REUSE PLANNING

Prison population reductions create an opening to close prisons; in some communities there have been intentional discussions about repurposing prisons for non-correctional uses and political and financial support from federal, state, and local agencies. At least 21 states closed prisons between 2000 and 2022.

• PRIORITIZE COMMUNITY REINVESTMENT

Community reinvestment acknowledges the collateral impacts of mass incarceration on many urban neighborhoods. A community reinvestment approach redirects some portion of the funds states now spend on prisons to rebuild the social capital in the neighborhoods where people lived prior to incarceration

• IMPROVE AVAILABLE DATA AND DOCUMENTATION OF PRISON REUSE

Understanding best practices in prison reuse and closed correctional facilities demands more attention through data collection and research. Efforts to close prisons must emphasize reuse for non-carceral purposes. Advocates and policymakers alike should commit to repurposing closed prisons.



■ INTRODUCTION

The United States' prison population grew by nearly 700% between 1972 and its peak in 2009, when the country imprisoned over 1.5 million persons nationwide. By 2020 it had shrunk by 24%.¹ A number of correctional facilities have been partially or completely closed, and the nation's correctional capacity decreased by 81,444 prison beds between 2000 and 2022, according to The Sentencing Project's analysis of state records.² The number of youths detained or placed out of home fell by more than half between 1997 and 2019,³ and the number of youth residential facilities nationwide decreased 42% between 2000 and 2016⁴; although many remain open and operate below capacity. California also plans to decommission its youth prisons in 2023, under a state law passed last year and a budget directive issued by Governor Gavin Newsom. Officials designated more than \$200 million a year to help local governments absorb the cost of housing and caring for the hundreds of young people who previously would have ended up in state-run correctional facilities.⁵

No evidence suggests that the closure of correctional facilities increases crime rates in any way. Indeed, most argue that the reverse is true - especially where positive community development is encouraged rather than incarceration. But given recent increases in violent crime, there are serious concerns that decarceration will reverse and calls for more prisons may increase. When crime increased in the 1960s and 1970s, although the United States responded with policies that increased arrests and lengthened prison sentences, other nations decarcerated and directed public safety resources to preventing crimes rather than building new prisons.⁶ In contrast, the United States experienced unprecedented prison population growth and a prison building boom due to changes in law and policy.⁷ The events of the 20th century, when the United States' peer nations

decarcerated and directed public safety resources to prevent crimes rather than building new prisons in response to rising crime rates demonstrate another, better way of responding to crime. Today, state officials in collaboration with community leaders should continue efforts to decarcerate, prioritize resources towards crime prevention, and address the harms of mass incarceration.

Total spending on corrections in fiscal year 2021 increased 0.7-percent over fiscal 2020 to more than \$66 billion. Due to COVID-19, federal spending and associated relief, federal funds for the nation's overall correctional spending increased more than 183% in fiscal 2021 from the previous fiscal year.⁸ Prison closures are a way to reduce state correctional spending because they often reduce labor expenses and related costs. For example, California officials estimate over \$270 millions in savings because of two closed state prisons.⁹ State spending on corrections reflects the costs to build and operate prison systems and can be affected by changes in state prison populations. Personnel costs—including salaries, overtime, and benefits—often comprise a significant share of state prison expenditures.

The United States experienced unprecedented prison population growth due to changes in policy and practice over many decades. In response, a growing base of directly-impacted residents have anchored community-based approaches to public safety for more than a decade, including challenging extreme sentences and confronting policies that drive prison admissions. Today, state officials in collaboration with community leaders should continue efforts to decarcerate, prioritize resources towards crime prevention, and address the harms of mass incarceration. Reusing correctional facilities should be a priority.

■ DECARCERATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 2008-PRESENT

A brief overview of the changes that have reduced prison populations is a necessary component of understanding the choices that public officials and advocates face in the coming months and years. A commitment to decarceration can enhance public safety while fully funding social interventions like jobs programs and health care can prevent crime.¹⁰

Several states have adopted reforms that scaled back the scope and severity of their mandatory sentencing policies. Reforms that have reduced prison populations¹¹ include California lawmakers' restriction of the use of sentence enhancements for alleged gang crimes and codified practices defining "patterns of criminal gang activity" used to lengthen prison terms.¹² Colorado addressed felony murder statutes for cases when individuals did not directly cause the death of another person no longer mandating life without parole sentences for persons convicted of this offense.¹³ Mississippi reduced the time individuals had to serve prior to parole eligibility for nonviolent crimes in 2008 and for violent offenses respectively in 2013; it expanded these reforms with the Mississippi Earned Parole Eligibility Act in 2021.¹⁴ An estimated 3,000 people became eligible for parole review as a result of this statutory change.¹⁵

Declines in correctional populations due to the COVID-19 pandemic likewise illustrate that the harms of mass incarceration can be avoided without impacting public safety. During the pandemic, courts significantly altered operations delaying trials and sentencing, contributing to a 40% decrease in admissions to state and federal prison between 2019 and 2020¹⁶. Local jails also experienced a significant decline reflecting changes in practice. In the early months of the pandemic, approximately 208,500 persons in local jails received expedited release; 81% of jail beds nationwide were occupied in 2019, it had fallen to 60% in 2020.¹⁷ Although the nation's correctional population declined, America is still the world leader in its use of incarceration.¹⁸

■ ADDRESSING POLITICAL PRESSURE AGAINST PRISON CLOSURE

The environment shaping criminal legal policy is often complicated by external dynamics including crime rates and electoral cycles.¹⁹ The reduction in capacity has drawn opposition from local political and labor interests concerned about the loss of jobs and economic consequences, often in rural areas.²⁰ Many local officials embraced prison construction as an economic development strategy although the research does not prove these assumptions.²¹ Generally, prison closure proponents counter that prisons are not a source of economic opportunity. However, those claims ignore the marketing of prison development as an economic development strategy in communities impacted by declines in agriculture.²² High-incarceration communities - the neighborhoods that send many individuals to prison - also suffer economic loss. These neighborhoods experience substantial disadvantages due to economic divestment, political disenfranchisement, and downward mobility caused by the cycling of residents to and from prison.²³

Correctional staff and people in prison have also resisted prison closure. Correctional officers opposed to prison closures in California, Illinois, and New York have sued state governments to stop or slow down prison closures.²⁴ Residents in Susanville, California, organized fundraisers to help fund the city's lawsuit to stop closure of the California Correctional Center, although persons incarcerated in the prison filed an amicus brief to dismiss the lawsuit to support the prison's immediate closure.²⁵ People in Washington prisons registered opposition to planned closures out of concern for in-prison educational and rehabilitation programming and possible overcrowding.²⁶ Selling prisons can also be a challenge. Residents in Schoharie County, New York opposed repurposing a closed prison as a car recycling factory. Residents did not want a junkyard in their rural community and raised concerns of increased traffic.²⁷

State and local leadership facilitating planned transitions from prison towns to something new will be important to support future prison closures. Washington correctional leaders addressed concerns about loss of education and rehabilitation programs for persons impacted by state prison closures by working to expand partnerships with universities to continue programs.²⁸ Washington State officials held listening sessions following the announced closure of the Monroe Correctional Complex in 2021. In framing these sessions they acknowledged that prison closures not only impact staff and persons incarcerated but also the family of incarcerated residents and the persons who provide services and programs in correctional facilities.²⁹ Following the listening session, DOC leadership modified its prison downsizing plan, and rather than planning to close the original Silverstar Unit shifted closure plans to the Elkhorn Unit. Officials announced efforts to reassign staff to other state prisons to minimize impact.³⁰

New York's Empire State Development Corporation has anchored economic redevelopment initiatives in communities with prison closures and planned job placement services for correctional staff impacted by state prison closures.³¹ New York officials also established the Economic Transformation Program (ETP) in 2014³² to support the local economies affected by correctional and juvenile facility closures. In its first year, the ETP was funded to provide tax credits and \$50 million in capital funding for projects to create jobs and support economic development initiatives in impacted areas. Since 2013, nearly \$50 million in additional funding has been appropriated to support fifteen prison facility redevelopment projects.³³ The state's Prison Redevelopment Commission, which Governor Kathy Hochul announced in 2022, is designed both to reuse state prison facilities and to revitalize communities. Governor Hochul described a plan to "reimagin[e] shuttered state prison properties as hubs of regional opportunity. Our ultimate goal is to put New Yorkers to work, and I am confident this newly formed Prison Redevelopment Commission will help create an action plan to do just that."³⁴

■ CONSIDERATIONS IN PRISON REUSE

Facilitating closed prison acquisitions is an emerging practice at the state and local level. The State of New York has sold several prisons via state auction since 2011.³⁵ The State of Michigan authorized the sale of a closed prison in 2021.³⁶ In Texas, the City of Corsicana purchased a youth prison to redevelop it as a multi-use complex for city services.³⁷

Jurisdictions seeking support to finance prison reuse can access federal resources. The Tennessee prison reuse project successfully navigated public financing programs. The U.S. Department of Agriculture finances rural development projects for essential community facilities to provide key community services through the Community Facilities Direct Loan and Grant Program. Any city, village, township, or town, including federally recognized tribal lands, with populations at or below 20,000 residents can qualify. Program funding can be used to purchase, construct, or improve designated facilities or provide related services. This fund has been used to finance local jail construction,³⁸ but the program could also fund rural development projects like health clinics and community centers as well as utility services and food pantries.³⁹

While any non correctional use of a former prison is a step in the right direction, some community stakeholders have objected to certain prison repurposing projects because they reinforce mass incarceration norms.⁴⁰ The prison tourism industry monetizes closed prisons and reinforces stereotypes of incarcerated persons without addressing the underlying causes of mass incarceration. While Philadelphia's longtime closed Eastern State Penitentiary has hosted an exhibit on the nation's incarceration growth, it simultaneously hosted ticketed haunted prison events although they have ended this practice to more consistently align day to day practices with their mission of addressing the legacy of American criminal justice reform at one of nation's oldest prison sites.⁴¹

■ PRISON REUSE PROJECTS

There are completed reuse projects in Michigan, New York, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia as well as planned reuse projects in California, Illinois, Tennessee, and Texas.⁴² Currently, stakeholders in Colorado and Massachusetts are exploring uses for closed prisons.⁴³

Arthur Kill Correctional Facility (New York Medium Security): Movie and TV Studio

Arthur Kill opened in 1976 and had a 931-bed occupational capacity. After its closure, Broadway Stages, a movie studio, bought it in 2017 for \$7 million.⁴⁴ New York's Empire State Development (ESD) guided redevelopment for the Arthur Kill prison. In May 2013, ESD issued a request for proposal to purchase and redevelop the site of the prison to create new local economic opportunities on Staten Island. Broadway Stages committed to an investment of \$20 million to develop the closed prison into a working film and television production studio space, supporting the creation of 1,311 permanent jobs and a projected 367 construction jobs. The production studio was expected to include five soundstages totaling approximately 100,000 square feet. The redevelopment project also involved the adaptive reuse of existing buildings on the site, transforming many of them into film studios, and using the remaining buildings for equipment storage, cafeterias, and production offices.⁴⁵

The closed prison sits on 69 acres of waterfront property along Staten Island's West Shore and is surrounded by commercial, recreational, and industrial properties. At the time, Gina Argento, President and CEO of Broadway Stages, remarked:

We are so excited that the deal for the Arthur Kill Correctional Facility has been finalized and we can now move forward with our plans to turn it into soundstages and an elite full-service production

facility. The prison brings much needed authenticity to so many TV shows and films and we're happy to be able to provide the backdrop for those scenes in the Arthur Kill Correctional Facility. But more than just the benefit for the industry, this deal will help create over 1,300 permanent local jobs in year one plus an additional 300+ construction jobs.⁴⁶

Portions of *Orange Is the New Black*, *The Black List*, and *Ocean's 8* have been filmed in the closed prison.⁴⁷

Brushy Mountain State Penitentiary (Tennessee, Maximum Security): Whisky Distillery

Tennessee opened Brushy Mountain State Penitentiary in 1896 in the remote, southern part of the Appalachian Plateau; initially it was on a 286-acre site that included several underground coal mines during the convict leasing era. During the prison's history, mining operations stopped and the state of Tennessee moved the prison property into the adjoining Frozen Head State Park.⁴⁸

Developer Pete Waddington says he was riding on his motorcycle off Tennessee State Route 116 in Petros in Morgan County when he came upon Brushy Mountain Penitentiary.⁴⁹ The prison had a capacity of 584 and was used as the state's reception/classification and diagnostic center before closing in 2009.⁵⁰

Brushy Mountain Group, a private developer entity that Waddington formed along with Chattanooga businessmen Brian May, contacted the Tennessee Department of Corrections about acquiring the decommissioned prison. The process led to discussions with the Morton County Economic Development Board. Initially the Brushy Mountain Group leased the prison for a dollar. Discussions with the local economic development council and county officials identified next steps for reuse including securing federal and state grants to redevelop the



Brushy Mountain Distillery

Photo: Facebook

site through plumbing and electrical improvements. Voters approved the prison's conversion into a tourist spot by a 2-1 margin in a referendum during the 2013 local election cycle. The private consortium transformed the site into a tourist attraction, including a "moonshine" distillery, restaurant, and gift shop. The reuse project included a stakeholder group anchored by the Brushy Mountain Group and other local officials.

Some prison reform advocates criticize the orientation of the Brushy Mountain development. The distillery includes a museum that highlights the prison's history without a comprehensive overview of mass incarceration.⁵¹

Dawson State Jail (Texas, Minimum Security Prison): Nonprofit Office Space

The Sentencing Project partnered with Grassroots Leadership to publish *Dawson State Jail: The Case for Closure* in 2013.⁵² There had been federal investigations of several deaths at the facility that occurred due to a lack of adequate health care under the management of the for-profit prison company CoreCivic.⁵³ The reports of inadequate medical care and unsafe staffing levels at the facility led a coalition of state and national groups to mobilize in support of the prison's closing.⁵⁴ The Sentencing Project was one among several sentencing reform and community-based organizations that signed a letter to Texas lawmakers demanding the prison's closure.⁵⁵ State lawmakers decided not to renew CoreCivic's contract.

"It's a nice opportunity," said Mary Suhm, then Dallas City Manager, about the development. "You're bringing me some very good news." Dawson State Jail was located in an area targeted for economic development. In 2019, the Trinity Park Conservancy, the nonprofit organization tasked with designing, building and operating the Harold Simmons Park, purchased the facility for a reported \$3 million. Conservancy officials imagined repurposing the closed prison as an opportunity to generate significant economic, social, and environmental value for the neighboring communities and Dallas residents.

The redevelopment team worked in partnership with Community Design Advocates (CDAs) who sought to broaden and deepen this prison reuse project's connection and responsiveness to the various communities it serves. Designers and owners outside of communities were in direct collaboration with community members on a consistent basis to engage in the redevelopment and future use of the site.⁵⁶ Current plans imagine the decommissioned prison to anchor the overall Trinity Park development. The Trinity Park Conservancy is exploring different operating models informed by community engagement to support social justice while generating revenue for the park's sustainability.⁵⁷

The Workhouse Arts Center and the complex consists of several buildings including galleries, artist and dance studios, music rooms, event spaces, and administrative offices.



Photo: Visit Fairfax

Lorton Reformatory (Virginia, Maximum Security Prison): Mixed Use Development

Located just 30 minutes outside of Washington, DC, the Lorton Reformatory is a former prison complex that opened in 1910. Previously a maximum-security prison, Lorton Reformatory trained persons imprisoned there in trades like metalworking and brickmaking. By the mid-1980s, the “D.C. Workhouse and Reformatory” consisted of four separate prisons where men, women, and youth were incarcerated. President Bill Clinton signed The National Capital Revitalization and Self-Government Improvement Act of 1997, known as the Revitalization Act, that ordered Lorton’s closure.⁵⁸

In 2002, the former D.C. Department of Corrections property was transferred to Virginia’s Fairfax County. Prior to that transfer, the County’s Board of Supervisors (BOS) appointed a citizen’s task force to develop recommendations for the property that were approved in 1999 following the Revitalization Act. The former prison buildings are historically protected. Agreements with federal, state, and local preservation groups direct the county to explore the adaptive reuse and preservation of the former prison. Preserved and reused buildings include dormitories, cell

blocks, guard towers, prison walls, guard’s quarters, a chapel, and the on-site power plant. One phase of the prison’s adaptive reuse included redeveloping a dining hall and six, two-story cell blocks as retail and office space. The adaptive reuse plan also included new construction of commercial and retail space and new construction of a townhome development.⁵⁹

Officials established another citizen’s task force in 2004 and submitted recommendations to the Board of Supervisors to reuse the historically protected prison buildings. Those recommendations were adopted into the 2006 County’s Comprehensive Plan⁶⁰ and included a neighborhood commercial center.⁶¹ Now, the 3,500-acre former prison has been redeveloped by a public-private partnership between Fairfax County, Wisconsin-based Alexander Development Company, and the Virginia-based Elm Street Development, Inc. Development plans include \$190 million investment to complete the redevelopment.⁶² The site also includes the Workhouse Arts Center and the complex consists of several buildings including galleries, artist and dance studios, music rooms, event spaces, and administrative offices. The Workhouse supports more than 100 professional and emerging visual artists by providing them affordable studios and galleries in which to create, and to exhibit their work.

The arts center offers continuing education classes in various art disciplines.⁶³

Criminal legal reform advocates criticized Lorton’s Workhouse Arts Center hosting a “Nightmare Prison” drive-thru haunted prison event following George Floyd’s murder in 2020.⁶⁴ Both developers and facility managers should consider the harms of mass incarceration in determining reuse.

Mid-Orange Correctional Facility (New York, Medium Security Prison): Business Park

Opened in 1977 as a medium-security prison, Mid-Orange Correctional Facility was originally one of the nation’s first treatment centers for alcoholism in 1912. Later the prison became a reform school known as the New York State Training School for Boys; and finally the Mid-Orange Correctional Facility. A medium-security prison housing 750 men, Mid-Orange occupied 740 acres near the Ramapo Mountains about 60 miles northwest of New York City.⁶⁵ The facility closed in 2011 due to a declining prison population and then-Governor Andrew Cuomo’s push for prison closures.

Warwick Valley Local Development Corporation (WVLDC) was granted \$3 million by ESD for infrastructure improvements to upgrade water, sewer, and road capacity at the closed prison, which is being redeveloped and converted into the Warwick Valley Office & Technology Corporate Park.⁶⁶

The redevelopment is anchored by the Orange County Industrial Development Agency, which encourages business development and community investment, and has awarded companies tax incentives to settle in Warwick. Sitting on over 1,000 acres, the prison turned corporate park includes the Kraftify Brewing Co. and the Hudson Valley Sports Complex.⁶⁷ The business development also includes UrbanXtracts, a hemp services provider and a subsidiary of New York’s Hemp Source. UrbanXtracts opened an 18,000 square-foot hemp manufacturing facility in 2021.⁶⁸ Town of Warwick Supervisor Michael Sweeton commented:

This is an exciting public-private partnership that will provide job opportunities for our farm community as well as our residents by leveraging private investment and grant



Hudson Valley Sports Complex

Photo: Facebook

funding from New York Empire State Development....This project has spurred other entrepreneurs to purchase commercial lots on site and invest in our community.⁶⁹

Ojibway Correctional Facility (Michigan, Minimum Security): Business Redevelopment

Formerly “Camp Ojibway”, the all-men minimum-security prison was originally a prison camp that opened in 1971. Due to a declining state-wide prison population and budget cuts, Ojibway Correctional Facility closed in 2018. The Michigan Department of Corrections (MDOC) reported an 1,100 excess prison beds among state correctional lockups when officials planned for the Ojibway closure.⁷⁰

In 2018, state officials established the Project Gogebic Task Force, led by Michigan’s Talent and Economic Development Department, to facilitate state agencies in collaboration with local leaders in the Gogebic County area, the location of the Ojibway prison, to identify solutions to the economic challenges resulting from the prison’s closure.⁷¹ Then Gov. Rick Snyder described the project:

The prison has been a key economic driver in the Gogebic area for more than 40 years, and its closure will undoubtedly be a challenge for employees and their families, as well as the greater Gogebic area. Our job now is to assist local leaders in helping families, but also ensure the community has the tools and resources needed to respond to the economic challenges ahead and position itself for a brighter future.⁷²

The multi-agency Project Gogebic Task Force was tasked with focusing state resources on developing short- and long-term economic development strategies to create a sustainable economy for the community. Agency officials on the Project Gogebic Task Force coordinated with local leaders to form a steering committee to advise and collaborate with the Michigan Economic Development Corporation (MEDC) on the development of an economic strategy and develop a community economic development plan to recommend community development strategies. The MEDC emphasized the opening of the Waupaca Foundry, a facility to process iron castings for the Hitachi Metals company, was part of a commitment to economic development in Gogebic County following the closure of the Ojibway prison.⁷³

The former prison sits on 125 acres on the Michigan-Wisconsin border and had a capacity of 1,180 incarcerated people. To plan for the Ojibway prison redevelopment, the MDOC first labeled the prison a surplus site and state policymakers authorized legislation to dispose of the asset to sell it.⁷⁴ Gov. Gretchen Whitmer, who succeeded Snyder, signed legislation allowing the prison to be sold in 2020. Manufacturing and cannabis industries have both shown interest in participating in the site’s redevelopment. Since the state owns the grounds no property taxes can be collected, but officials are hoping to change that if a private business buys the former prison.⁷⁵

LESSONS IN DECOMMISSIONING PUBLIC FACILITIES

There is too little research and analysis available on the challenges and successes of prison closures and repurposing, but stakeholders exploring these options should consider lessons learned from the decommissioning of other public facilities including military bases and nuclear and other power plants. These lessons include overestimating savings associated with closures because of personnel reassignments rather than labor reductions, and addressing land restoration following a closure.

Cost-Saving Estimates: Prison closure campaigns may focus on the cost-saving such closure might bring, but sophisticated labor analysis is necessary to ensure the accuracy of any such proposal. This is illustrated quite well in the case of decommissioned military bases. Following the end of the Cold War, the US Department of Defense (DoD) decommissioned 350 military bases under base realignment and closure (BRAC) initiatives between 1988 and 2005 resulting in a reported cost savings.⁷⁶ The DoD continues to undertake BRAC initiatives to dispose of excess military infrastructure. DoD has asserted that savings generated from BRAC would total billions of dollars.⁷⁷ However, the General Accounting Office has published a series of BRAC related reports highlighting the unreliability of DoD cost savings estimates. DoD officials estimated savings based on personnel reductions. However, the final BRAC commission report concluded that military personnel were not eliminated, but merely reassigned to other tasks, and the commission found that DoD significantly overestimated its initial estimate of \$49 billion in net savings over a 20-year period.⁷⁸

Land Reuse Challenges: Land reuse issues are something to consider as part of a prison closure. For example, Earthland Island Journal observed that nearly 600 state and federal prisons are built near polluted locations requiring a long-term response to clean up toxic contaminants.⁷⁹ Analogous lessons can be learned from decommissioning projects related to the nuclear power industry. Nuclear power plant decommissioning is the process where a nuclear power plant is dismantled to the point that it no longer requires radiation protection. The decommissioning process starts with a planning phase while the nuclear or power plants are still in operation and includes eventual demolition of the facility and the cleanup of radioactive material. Government and private sector stakeholders started decommissioning nuclear power plants several decades ago and predicted a continued need to decommission the facilities.⁸⁰ Some decommissioned nuclear and power plants have been restored to the condition prior to their industrial use and are considered greenfields. Restoring the land following years of industrial use may take practices to replace the topsoil and other efforts to improve the land's condition for new uses.⁸¹

PRISON DOWNSIZING AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO PHASE OUT PRIVATE PRISONS

Some prisons have closed following the termination of a contract due to prison population declines or other factors. The Obama administration worked to phase out private prisons by declining to renew contracts with for-profit organizations running prisons. The phasing out resumed with an executive order signed by President Joe Biden on January 26, 2021.⁸² The closure of several for-profit prisons in Texas that imprisoned persons sentenced to federal prisons was attributed to Biden's executive order in 2021.⁸³ There have also been declines in for-profit prison capacity at the state level. California banned the use of private prisons in 2019. However, only 8% of persons in state or federal custody are in for-profit prisons.⁸⁴

In recent years, there were declines in the number of people in the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) detention system, which is made up of a network of 200 jails across the country. ICE detains noncitizens during deportation proceedings. ICE detention has been terminated at almost a dozen county jails since President Biden took office.⁸⁵ Nearly 80% of people in ICE custody are held in privately owned or operated facilities.⁸⁶ For example, ICE announced it will end use of the Etowah County Detention Center in Gadsden, Alabama and will reduce capacity in other its detention facilities in Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Massachusetts, and North Carolina.⁸⁷ Also, ICE detention was terminated at almost a dozen county jails over the last year.⁸⁸

While immigration is a matter of federal policy, state officials have participated in challenging immigrant detention in recent years. California lawmakers banned intergovernmental service agreements (IGSA) in 2017. In an IGSA ban, the state prohibits local governments or law enforcement agencies from entering into an agreement, contract, or memorandum to detain people for civil immigration violations. In a private prison ban, the state bans any

person, business, or local government entity from operating a private immigrant detention facility or prison. In recent years, Illinois, Maryland, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, Washington, and Wisconsin introduced legislation to challenge public and private immigrant detention facilities.⁸⁹

PRISON REUSE FOR OTHER CORRECTIONAL PURPOSES

Prison population reductions are not a guarantee that state correctional departments will downsize. For example, the California Rehabilitation Center, with a capacity of over 2,490, was scheduled to close following prison population declines in FY 2015-2016 due to age and high operation costs, but subsequent plans called for the prison to remain open indefinitely.⁹⁰

California is among the states that decarcerated more than thirty percent since the state prison population peaked in 2006. However, state officials announced unexecuted prison closures while opening new prisons and converting older prisons for new correctional uses. Lack of planning to reuse decommissioned prisons for non-correctional purposes leaves them open to reuse. Closed youth correctional facilities have been reused as adult prisons.⁹¹ The termination of an ICE contract in Hudson County, New Jersey, led local officials to contract for continued incarceration purposes with the state for a substance abuse pilot program to generate state revenue to replace lost federal funding.⁹² Closed adult correctional lockups have been reused for incarcerated persons mandated to undergo treatment for substance use.⁹³ At the federal level, US Immigration and Customs Enforcement reopened a closed federal prison in Moshannon Valley, Pennsylvania as an ICE facility.⁹⁴ Wisconsin officials considered closing the Lincoln Hills and Copper Lake juvenile facilities while planning for a new youth prison including the possible repurposing of an adult re-entry correctional facility to a juvenile detention center.⁹⁵

■ NEW PRISONS IN THE MASS INCARCERATION ERA

Despite recent decarceration trends, some states continue to experience prison growth or sustain large prison populations. In these jurisdictions, hopes to close prisons remain unfulfilled or closed prisons could reopen for new correctional purposes. Today, the limitations of criminal legal reforms to adequately reverse mass incarceration are contributing to the construction of new prisons. Some examples include:

- Georgia Governor Brian Kemp requested \$600 million to purchase a privately-owned prison and build a 3,000-bed facility to replace four older lockups in 2022.⁹⁶
- Officials in North Carolina and Pennsylvania closed prisons but opened new correctional facilities with greater correctional capacity.⁹⁷
- Officials with the Alabama Department of Corrections plan to build new prisons despite opposition and federal guidance to decarcerate, at the cost of \$1.3 billion, some of which consists of federal COVID-19 relief funds.⁹⁸ Alabama officials authorized prison construction legislation to hold 4,000 people in 2021 and use American Rescue Plan funds. Lawmakers also approved a 1,000-bed women's prison once the men's prisons are 60% complete.⁹⁹
- Nebraska officials have considered a new prison for years. Lawmakers explored authorizing a 1,500-bed correctional facility with a projected cost of \$230 million.¹⁰⁰
- Illinois officials sold the closed Thomson Correctional Center to the overcrowded federal Bureau of Prisons for \$165 million to house persons convicted of federal offenses.¹⁰¹
- Local officials have considered other forms of new correctional capacity too. In New York City, plans are underway to close the 11,300-bed Rikers jail complex—long plagued by inhumane living conditions—and replace it by 2027 with four new high-rise lockups located in the Bronx, Manhattan,

Queens, and Brooklyn. Total capacity would be 3,544-beds, with each site having 886 beds.¹⁰²

There is resistance to new prison construction from grassroots community groups. During 2022, Massachusetts lawmakers considered legislation to place a five-year moratorium on prison and jail construction.¹⁰³ Alabama groups blocked a plan for the state to lease two newly constructed private prisons and opposed the state's attempt to use federal funds to build new prisons.¹⁰⁴

■ COMMUNITY REINVESTMENT

Prison closures offer an opportunity for state officials and community leaders to reimagine spending on public safety priorities. Decarceration policies that lead to prison population reductions can lead to a reprioritization of resources to fund services and social supports that prevent criminal legal system contact. Community reinvestment acknowledges the collateral impacts of mass incarceration on overly policed neighborhoods where many persons in state prisons lived prior to their sentencing. These impacts can perpetuate cycles of crime and incarceration. Billions of dollars are spent each year to imprison large numbers of people from low-income communities. A community reinvestment approach would redirect some portion of the funds states now spend on prisons to rebuild social capital and local infrastructure—quality schools, community centers, and healthcare facilities—in high-incarceration neighborhoods.

Sustaining decarceration strategies while supporting crime prevention efforts will require substantial investments to support the capacity of community stakeholders to do the work at the local and state level. Community reinvestment initiatives must support short- and long-term investments to include:

- **Community Initiatives** - Increases in serious crimes must be met with a range of sustainable policy solutions, including the leadership of community residents and organizations ready to address violence to support safe and strong

communities. Research has documented effective interventions led by sufficiently funded community organizations that anchor community wellness initiatives, manage public spaces, and support everyone within them to sustain community safety.¹⁰⁵ Studies show that informal social mechanisms like parental friendship networks can help to monitor teenage peer groups reducing arrests.¹⁰⁶ A Baltimore-based study determined persons participating in neighborhood organizations experienced shared responsibility for their surrounding community, thus reinforcing safety goals.¹⁰⁷ Researchers also observed a decline in delinquency in over 500 residents in New York City who reported their participation in neighborhood groups.¹⁰⁸

- **Reimagining Public Safety** - Research has demonstrated that a community-level approach can be effective at supporting efforts to reduce future criminal legal system involvement. Following declines in state prison populations and closed prisons, state officials in several states directed state resources to community-led organizations that provide direct services to formerly incarcerated residents to reduce returns to prison.¹⁰⁹ Supporting community-level initiatives acknowledges that federal, state, and local government policies not directly concerned with crime may impact public safety.¹¹⁰

Kansas officials initiated an ambitious reinvestment experiment in 2006. Officials launched an affordable housing initiative as part of a neighborhood revitalization strategy in a high incarceration community to reduce recidivism. Following a research initiative to determine the jurisdiction with the highest rate of incarceration, correctional officials established a reentry program that included affordable housing in Wichita's Council District 1 where persons returned to prison for probation and parole violations costing the state \$5.5 million in corrections spending.¹¹¹ Colorado officials launched the Work and Gain Education & Employment Skills program that facilitates reentry for people under the Colorado

Department of Corrections supervision (i.e. parole, transition in Community Corrections) or within one year from their discharge date. Community partners work with the Colorado Department of Corrections to deliver services including job training and affordable housing to support successful reentry.¹¹²

- **Interventions for Youth** - A primary measure of the youth justice system is its effectiveness in supporting youth who are arrested by reducing the likelihood of their committing future offenses. Studies show that programs prioritizing family interactions are the most successful, probably because they focus on providing skills to the adults who are in the best position to impact the child's behavior.¹¹³ California officials committed nearly \$60 million to diversion programs for youth. Funding was made available through the Youth Reinvestment Grant, Tribal Youth Diversion, and Fostering Success Funds. The funds help support community-based services for youth as alternatives to arrest and incarceration.¹¹⁴

RECOMMENDATIONS: PRISON CLOSURE AND REUSE REFORM EFFORTS

Prison closures offer an opportunity for state officials and community leaders to reimagine spending on public safety priorities. Efforts to decarcerate and prioritize resources to services and social supports that prevent criminal legal system contact offer an opportunity to challenge mass incarceration.

• CHALLENGE MASS INCARCERATION

The circumstances surrounding prison closures vary from state to state and create challenges and opportunities. The rate of decarceration has been very modest in most states, and it remains vital to recalibrate sentencing policies to meaningfully address the nation's scale of imprisonment. Twenty-five states experienced a prison population reduction of less than 10% between their peak year and 2019. The historically

high-incarceration states of Texas and Florida reduced their prison populations by only 4% and 8% respectively by 2019 since reaching their peak levels; many states experienced further decarceration in 2020 although the trend reversed the following year.¹¹⁵ In recent years, criminal legal reform has regularly been implemented through changes in state sentencing laws to divert prison-bound defendants and address extreme sentences. Further reforms should be adopted.

- **PRISON REUSE PLANNING**

Prison population reductions create an opening to close prisons; in some communities there have been intentional discussions about repurposing prisons for non-correctional uses. At least 21 states closed prisons between 2000 and 2022. State and local officials in Michigan, New York, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia engaged in prison reuse planning in several ways, including establishing state or local task forces to guide prison redevelopment discussions and support funding initiatives to staff and complete reuse projects.

- **PRIORITIZE COMMUNITY REINVESTMENT**

Community reinvestment acknowledges the collateral impacts of mass incarceration on many urban neighborhoods. These impacts can perpetuate cycles of crime and incarceration. Billions of dollars are spent each year to imprison large numbers of people from low-income urban neighborhoods. A community reinvestment approach would redirect some portion of the funds states now spend on prisons to rebuild the social capital and local initiatives – quality schools, community centers, and healthcare facilities – in the neighborhoods where many people in prison resided prior to their incarceration.

- **IMPROVE AVAILABLE DATA AND DOCUMENTATION OF PRISON REUSE**

The Sentencing Project has documented prison closures and reuse projects since 2011. Understanding best practices in prison reuse and closed correctional facilities demands more attention and analysis. Efforts to close prisons must emphasize reuse for non carceral purposes. The dangers of not planning for repurposing leaves closed prisons open to continued incarceration. Advocates and policymakers alike should commit to repurposing closed prisons.

■ CONCLUSION

State lawmakers make hard decisions when choosing to close prisons. However, this emerging framework in criminal justice policy offers an opening to adopt strategies that emphasize opportunity instead of punishment as a guiding theme in public safety. To address crime, lawmakers must continue efforts to close prisons and prioritize public safety funding towards interventions that prevent crime. In some states, a commitment to address mass incarceration has focused on diverting from prison persons charged with certain drug offenses and sentence reviews for persons sentenced to extreme sentences.

Encouraging as is the opportunity offered by decarceration and prison closure and their reuse, the scale of incarceration should not be forgotten. Most states continue to employ a range of mandatory sentencing policies, sentence people to life without parole, make drug arrests in record numbers, and frequently enact practices that extend the length of time that persons spend in prison. The reality that states have been able to close prisons without compromising public safety offers an opening to assess the prospects for reducing the scale of incarceration. The nation will benefit from a strategy that moves beyond “tough on crime” rhetoric and towards a vision that strengthens resources and communities.

■ SOURCES AND TERMINOLOGY

The Sentencing Project surveyed state prison systems through records requests to every state, and analyzed publicly available documents to determine the final count of 81,444 closed prison beds between 2000 and 2022. Additional prison closure information was found through media reports and reviews of state correctional agency websites.

This report uses the Bureau of Justice Statistics' definition of prisons as facilities that hold adults sentenced to felony offenses. Prisons include those operated by the government and those operated by for-profit prison companies where adults sentenced to felony offenses are the majority of persons incarcerated. "Prison" may refer to a penitentiary; correctional institution; boot camp; residential community correction center; prison farm; reception, diagnostic, and classification center; road camp, forestry and conservation camp; youthful offender facility; vocational training facility; prison hospital; and prison drug and alcohol treatment facility.

APPENDIX

Listing of closed prisons by state, that includes occupational capacity.

State	Correctional Facility	Operational Capacity	Year[1] (Closed/Announced)	2022 Status
California	Deuel Vocational Institution (DVI)	1,500	2021	closed
California	Eagle Mountain Community Correctional Facility	436	2003	closed
Colorado	Boot Camp	100	2010	closed
Colorado	Colorado Women's Correctional Facility	275	2009	closed
Colorado	Cheyenne Mountain Re-Entry Center	710	2020	closed
Colorado	Fort Lyon Correctional Facility	500	2012	closed
Colorado	High Plains Correctional Facility	272	2010	closed
Colorado	Hudson Correctional Facility	1,200	2013	closed
Colorado	Kit Carson Correctional Center	1,562	2016	closed
Colorado	Skyline Correctional Center	252	2021	closed
Connecticut	Bergin Correctional Institution	603	2011	closed
Connecticut	Enfield Correctional Institution	724	2011	closed
Connecticut	J.B. Gates Correctional Institution	871	2011	closed
Connecticut	Northern Correctional Institution	510	2021	closed
Connecticut	Radgowski Correctional Institution	760	2021	closed
Connecticut	Webster Correctional Institution	200	2010	closed
Florida	Baker Correctional Institution	1,165	2021	closed
Florida	Big Pine Key Road Prison	54	2017	closed
Florida	Brevard Correctional Facility	842	2011	closed
Florida	Broward Correctional Institution	611	2012	closed
Florida	Caryville Work Camp	133	2012	closed
Florida	Demilly Correctional Institution	342	2012	closed
Florida	Gainesville Correctional Institution	507	2012	closed
Florida	Glades Correctional Institution	859	2011	closed
Florida	Hendry Correctional Institution	1,062	2011	closed
Florida	Hendry Work Camp	280	2012	closed
Florida	Hillsborough Correctional Institution	431	2012	closed
Florida	Indian River Correctional Institution	381	2012	closed
Florida	Largo Residential Reentry	281	2012	closed
Florida	Levy Forestry Camp	292	2012	closed
Florida	Lowell BTU (Camp Jones)	28	2011	closed
Florida	New River Correctional Institution	1,050	2012	closed
Florida	New River O Unit	426	2012	closed
Florida	River Junction Work Camp	736	2012	closed
Florida	Tallahassee Road prison	96	2011	closed

State	Correctional Facility	Operational Capacity	Year[1] (Closed/Announced)	2022 Status
Georgia	Blakely Regional Youth Detention Center	30	2011	closed
Georgia	Bostick State Prison	700	2010	closed
Georgia	Homerville State Prison	200	2009	closed
Georgia	Men's State Prison	670	2011	closed
Georgia	Metro State Prison	779	2011	closed
Georgia	Milan State Prison	250	2008	closed
Georgia	Paulding Regional Youth Detention Center	100	2013	closed
Georgia	Rivers State Prison	1,100	2008	closed
Georgia	Scott State Prison	1,784	2008	closed
Georgia	Thomas County Prison	185	2017	closed
Georgia	Troup County Correctional Institution	372	2017	closed
Georgia	Wayne State Prison	200	2008	closed
Illinois	Dwight Correctional Center	1,212	2013	closed
Illinois	Joliet Correctional Center	761	2002	closed
Illinois	Tamms Super Maximum Security Correctional Center	753	2013	closed
Illinois	Westside Adult Transition Center	284	2013	closed
Louisiana	C. Paul Phelps Correctional Center	942	2012	closed
Louisiana	Forcht-Wade Correctional Center	500	2012	closed
Louisiana	J. Levy Dabadie Correctional Center	300	2012	closed
Louisiana	Jetson Center for Youth	76	2014	closed
Maine	Central Maine Pre-Release Center	65	2013	closed
Maine	Maine State Prison Thomaston	475	2002	closed
Maine	Women's Reentry - York	64	2017	closed
Maine	Women's Reentry - Bangor	32	2012	closed
Michigan	Camp Brighton	404	2006	closed
Michigan	Camp Manistique	264	2007	closed
Michigan	Camp Sauble	156	2004	closed
Michigan	Detroit Reentry Center (formerly Ryan Correctional Facility saved \$28,807,100 in 2007)	879	2021	closed
Michigan	Florence Crane Correctional Facility	1,062	2011	closed
Michigan	Ojibway Correctional Facility	1,090	2018	closed
Michigan	Pugsley Correctional Facility	1,342	2016	closed
Michigan	Robert Scott Correctional Facility	860	2009	closed
Michigan	West Shoreline Correctional Facility	1,280	2018	closed
Michigan	Western Wayne Correctional Facility	778	2004	closed
Nevada	Nevada State Prison	841	2012	closed
New York	Arthur Kill Medium Security Prison	991	2011	closed
New York	Bayview Correctional Facility	229	2013	closed
New York	Beacon Correctional Facility	201	2013	closed

State	Correctional Facility	Operational Capacity	Year[1] (Closed/Announced)	2022 Status
New York	Buffalo Correctional Facility	132	2011	closed
New York	Butler Correctional Facility	240	2014	closed
New York	Camp Gabriels - sold	366	2009	closed
New York	Camp Georgetown	262	2011	closed
New York	Camp Pharsalia	258	2009	closed
New York	Chateaugay Correctional Facility	240	2014	closed
New York	Fulton Correctional Facility	258	2011	closed
New York	Gowanda Correctional Facility	1755	2021	closed
New York	Lincoln Correctional Facility	275	2019	closed
New York	Livingston Correctional Facility	874	2019	closed
New York	Lyon Mountain Correctional Facility	162	2011	closed
New York	Mid-Orange Correctional Facility	750	2011	closed
New York	Monterey Shock Incarceration Correctional Facility	300	2014	closed
New York	Mt. McGregor Correctional Facility	465	2014	closed
New York	Oneida Medium Correctional Facility	1215	2011	closed
New York	Parkside Correctional Facility	130	1999	closed
New York	Summit Shock Incarceration Correctional Facility	250	2011	closed
New York	Watertown Correctional Facility	670	2021	closed
New York	Ogdensburg Correctional Facility	557	2022	closed
New York	Moriah Shock Incarceration Correctional Facility	300	2022	closed
New York	The Willard Drug Treatment Campus	664	2022	closed
New York	Southport Correctional Facility	441	2022	closed
New York	Downstate Correctional Facility	1,221	2022	closed
New York	Rochester Correctional Facility	70	2022	closed
North Carolina	Bladen Correctional Center	172	2013	closed
North Carolina	Blue Ridge Correctional Center	72	2002	closed
North Carolina	Cabarrus Correctional Facility	198	2011	closed
North Carolina	Charlotte Correctional Center	256	2011	closed
North Carolina	Duplin Correctional Center	328	2013	closed
North Carolina	Durham Correctional Center	216	2011	closed
North Carolina	Fountain Correctional Center For Women	531	2014	closed
North Carolina	Haywood Correctional Center	128	2011	closed
North Carolina	Henderson Correctional Center	114	2002	closed
North Carolina	North Piedmont Correctional Center for Women	144	2014	closed
North Carolina	Raleigh Correctional Center for Women (consolidated w/ NCCIW)	144	2014	closed
North Carolina	Robeson Correctional Center	276	2013	closed

State	Correctional Facility	Operational Capacity	Year[1] (Closed/Announced)	2022 Status
North Carolina	Tillery Correctional Center (consolidated with Caledonia Correctional Institution)	208	2014	closed
North Carolina	Union Correctional Center	94	2009	closed
North Carolina	Wayne Correctional Center	428	2013	closed
North Carolina	Western Youth Institution	708	2014	closed
North Carolina	Wilmington Residential Facility for Women	36	2009	closed
Oklahoma	Diamondback Correctional Facility	2,000	2010	closed
Oregon	Mill Creek Correctional Facility	290	2021	closed
Pennsylvania	SCI Waynesburg (Greene County)	500	2003	closed
Pennsylvania	State Correctional Institution - Cresson	1,400	2013	closed
Pennsylvania	State Correctional Institution - Graterford	2,000	2018	closed
Pennsylvania	State Correctional Institution - Greensburg	988	2013	closed
Pennsylvania	State Correctional Institution - Pittsburgh	1,500	2017	closed
Pennsylvania	State Correctional Institution - Retreat	1200	2020	closed
Rhode Island	Donald Price Medium Security Facility	324	2011	closed
South Carolina	Coastal Pre-Release Center	187	2015	closed
South Carolina	Lower-Savannah Pre-Release Center	250	2016	closed
South Carolina	State Park Correctional Institution	231	2001	closed
South Carolina	Watkins Pre-Release Center	224	2012	closed
Texas	Al Price State Juvenile Correctional Facility	248	2011	closed
Texas	Central Unit	950	2011	closed
Texas	Crockett State School	232	2011	closed
Texas	Dawson State Jail	2,216	2013	closed
Texas	Garza East	2,177	2020	closed
Texas	Jester 1	323	2020	closed
Texas	Mineral Wells Pre-Parole Facility	2,100	2011/ 2013	closed
Texas	North Texas Intermediate Sanction Facility	432	2011	closed
Virginia	Cold Springs Work Center	140	2014	closed
Virginia	James River Correctional Center	450	2011	closed
Virginia	Mecklenburg Correctional Center	730	2012	closed
Virginia	Powhatan Main Correctional Center	449	2015	closed
Virginia	White Post Diversion Center	107	2014	closed
Washington	Ahtanum View Corrections Center	120	2009	closed
Washington	McNeil Island Corrections Center	500	2011	closed
Washington	Pine Lodge Correctional Facility for Women	359	2010	closed
Wisconsin	Ethan Allen School	557	2011	closed
Wisconsin	Southern Oaks Girls School	90	2011	closed
Total Operational Capacity		81,444		

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